Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

all kinds of diseases and a steep rise of the mortality rate; corpses were thrown into sewers adjacent to the houses. 3. Universal poverty conducive to the spread of venereal diseases . . . one out of twelve persons is syphilitic according to recent reports furnished by the Minister of Health . . .'

All this time the fortunes of the capitalists were not touched as they were working for reparations for Russia. They and the new state bureaucracy flourished, while the lion's share of the surplus value produced in Rumania was taken, of course, by the Kremlin.*

The bureaucratic and militarist character of the Rumanian state was not altered and many of the former officials remained in office. Of the legal system, Pătrăşcanu could say: 'The procedures, methods, traditions and structure of Rumanian jurisprudence have remained unchanged since a Communist became Minister of Justice. No more than 20 new judges out of 2,000 have been appointed. About a quarter of the old staff have been purged or pensioned'. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 12th December, 1945). This policy is symbolised by the fact that 'Just two weeks before the start of the trial of Iuliu Maniu . . . a discreet announcement was published in Bucharest newspapers recording the appointment of a new chief of the military tribunal of the second army corps district (the one to preside over Maniu's trial—Y.G.) . . . the wartime director general of all prisons and concentration camps in Rumania'. (*New York Herald Tribune*, 7th November, 1947).

The structure of the army remained hierarchical, with the complete subordination of the soldiers to their officers, and with no soldiers' committees. For three years even the composition of its personnel showed a marked continuity with the past. For instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolae Cambrea, commander of the Rumanian units fighting against Russia at Stalingrad, was promoted by the Groza government to the rank of General, and appointed Assistant Chief of Staff. Major Popescu-Argetoia, an active Fascist in the past, was put at the head of the secret police. General Vasiliu Rascanu, Chief of Military Police during the war against Russia, was appointed Minister of War. Another old general, Pretorian, was appointed Chief of Staff at the same time. General Lascar,

*See above pp.

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

Brigadier-General on the anti-Soviet Front in 1941, who received the Knight Cross of the Iron Cross from Hitler, was, after joining the Communist Party, considered 'loyal' enough to be appointed Minister of War!

The enthusiasm of the Communist Party for 'law and order' is illustrated by their ardour for the monarchy. On November 3rd, 1946, Premier Groza declared: 'The King, the Church, the Army, the People and the Government are one'. A few days later, at a meeting of the Communist-controlled Front organisation, the National Democratic Bloc, Vice-Premier Tătărescu said: 'From Gheorghiu Dej (leader of the Communist Party—Y.G.) to myself we shall all fight together for the consolidation of the Monarchy, because we are convinced that the King is the strongest factor that rallies all Rumanians. We shall fight for the consolidation of the National Church and of private property, the source of all creative enterprise'. (*East Europe*, an informative London weekly, 13th November, 1946). On November 8th, King Michael's birthday, the Communist daily *Era Noua* said: 'The people of Rumania have faith in their King.' (*East Europe*, 20th November, 1946). In the election demonstrations of the National Democratic Bloc, a constantly repeated slogan was 'Trăiască Regele!'—'Long live the King!' On 17th November, 1946, at an army electoral meeting in Bucharest, Gheorghiu Dej concluded his speech appealing for a vote for the 'King's Government': 'Long live the King!' 'Long live his commanders and soldiers! Long live the Army which is his and the people's!' The monarchist enthusiasm of the Communist Party reached such heights that they attacked the Peasant Party leader, Maniu as . . . anti-monarchist. Thus *Era Noua* of December 3rd, 1946, referring to the withdrawal of Maniu and his followers from parliament, suggested that 'in fact, Maniu's unparliamentary attitude is only a guise for his anti-dynastic policy. Maniu has already tried his first obstructive move in King Michael's reign . . . Neither Ferdinand nor King Carol were exempt from Maniu's political tactics'! (*East Europe*, 18th December, 1946). To crown the hypocrisy of the leaders of the Communist Party, on November 8th, 1947, their paper, *Scanteia*, wrote: 'The people wish to His Majesty the King a long life, good health, and a reign rich in democratic achievements' (*The New York Times*, November 9th,

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

or rich peasants under their control and therefore no obvious targets for social discontent. 668 471

After that the industrial bourgeoisie was expropriated, without a formal renunciation of the Bihać programme, by the legal confiscation of the property of traitors. It was not until 5th December, 1946, that a nationalisation law was passed and this simply registered what was already an accomplished fact.

Because the Partisans operated far from the industrial centres, they consisted almost entirely of peasants. Although the workers of Yugoslavia supported the Communist Party almost to a man, they played a very small part in the movement. In the words of Bogdan Raditsa, a former press service director of the Tito government: ' . . . the working class was far from being a vital factor in the resistance, as the Communists allege in their propaganda. For the workers remained in the big-city factories or were sent into Hitler's labor camps'. (*New Republic*, September 16th, 1946). The peasant character of the Partisan movement explains its original plebeian and democratic character. It also explains why the Communist Party of Yugoslavia could easily impose its conservative programme upon it during 1941-44 and why the Partisan Army was easily transformed into a stratified army, a development common to many peasant guerillas, for instance, the Spanish guerillas fighting Napoleon. 668 701 ●

In the beginning there was real democracy in the army. There were no ranks and no medals and after each operation meetings were held at which each partisan had the opportunity of making a public criticism of any aspect of the operation. For two years during the first four Offensives which put the Partisans to their severest test, this procedure was followed. But on May Day, 1943, the ranks of officers and N.C.O.'s were introduced, and in the next four months about 5,000 officers and 11 generals were created; Tito was raised to the rank of Marshal in November, 1943. In the state administration, the principle of electing People's Committees was rigorously adhered to in the countryside until the Partisans advanced from the mountainous and backward areas to the large towns, when they were no longer elected but *appointed*. When, as sometimes happened, elections were held, they were only a formality, as there was only one list of candidates. The

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

668 The generals, colonels and other officers of the ¼ army became the
701 backbone of the new state administration and monopolised all
471 political power. It was this new bureaucratic caste which carried out the nationalisation of industry, transferring all the industrial wealth of the country into its own hands.

Thus the Partisan movement passed from being a plebeian democracy with a progressive policy on the national question and a conservative social programme, to bureaucratic state capitalism.

¼ [Partisan army of Yugoslavia -- Analyst]

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

66/ 125 Minister of Foreign Trade in Czechoslovakia until February, 1948, and who is now in exile. He states that on the eve of the Communist coup of February 'All the important posts in the Ministry of the Interior were occupied by Communists; in the division of the security police, of nine departmental heads, five were Communists. At the head of the three branches of the Corps of National Security Police (S.N.B.) there were only militant Communists: Colonel Krystof, Dr. Hora and Dr. Goerner. In one of the particularly important sections of the security police (Section III–2), of nineteen officers, fourteen were Communists. In the directing office of the Corps of the National Security Police, of thirteen officers, nine were Communists. At Central headquarters of the political police, the three chief posts were in Communist hands. In the intelligence services the Communists dominated, even in the lower ranks. In the Prague headquarters of the provincial S.N.B., of five high officers, four were members of the Communist Party. Of seventeen regional directors of the S.N.B. in Bohemia, twelve were Communists. Of a total of seventy high officers of the S.N.B., about sixty were members of the Communist Party'. (*Czechoslovakia Enslaved*, London, 1950, p. 195). In the other satellites, there is no doubt that the Communist infiltration into key positions in the police was even more thorough. It is an apt comment that Andrássy Ut in Budapest, in which the dreaded headquarters of the Special Security Police is found, now bears instead the name of Stalin!

661 ● 701 A similar situation existed in the army. A symbol of the complete control of the Kremlin over the armies of the satellite countries was the appointment of the Soviet Army Marshal, Constantin Rokossovsky, as Polish Minister of National Defence (7th November, 1949) in place of Marshal Michal Rola-Zymierski.* Rokossovsky was born in Warsaw when it was part of Russian Poland, but has had as much to do with Poland as the Irish-born Field-Marshal Montgomery with his native country. He became famous, or more exactly notorious, in Poland, at the time of the Warsaw uprising, as the commander

*Rola-Zymierski was one of the few of Pilsudski's Legionnaires who took an oath of allegiance to the Germans in World War I. He was a commander of the Polish Army in the war against Russia in 1920. In 1927 he was tried and convicted on a charge of bribery, degraded, cashiered and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. The Kremlin raised him to the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Polish forces and Minister of National Defence.

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

of the Russian armies which passively looked on while the Nazis massacred the rebels. After the war he was groomed for command of the Polish Army by being kept in Poland as Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet troops guarding Russia's lines of communication with the Soviet Zone of Germany. 661 701

The Chief of Staff of the Polish Army, General Korczyc, and the Vice-Minister of Defence, General Poplawski, are also former commanders of the Soviet Army. On April 24th, 1950, the emigre Hungarian Communist monthly *Magyar Kommunista* reported that Soviet Commander General Mensikov, had been appointed 'Supervisor of the Hungarian Army.'

Besides controlling the 'national' armies the Kremlin keeps troops in four of the satellite countries, officially to protect the lines of communication leading to the Soviet Zones of Germany and Austria. These are Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. The only two countries with no Russian army are Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The former, bordering on the U.S.S.R. and squeezed between Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Zone of Germany and the Soviet Zone of Austria (with a short frontier with the American Zone of Germany) is from the military point of view well 'looked after'. In Yugoslavia, the non-existence of a Russian army and the fact that there is no frontier with the U.S.S.R. were of no small importance in the daring revolt of Tito against the Kremlin.

Secure in their control over army and police, the Communists could proceed to the elimination of all other parties.

[See category 116, pp. 160 - 182 -- Analyst]

8: Black S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe El

have been made to the peasants, state cooperatives are still maintained in the heavy grain producing areas by forces other than the peasants' love of the soil and its products.

If the Yugoslav government will learn the meaning of Lord Acton's axiom on the nature of power, and if the West pursues an intelligent, long-range foreign policy supporting Yugoslavia against Soviet aggression, it may be possible to revive in Yugoslavia and hence in the Balkans as a whole the elements of an independent political life.

V

The months following the death of Premier Stalin in March 1953, saw a number of internal changes in the various people's democracies. The principal means of coercion and political control nevertheless remained unchanged: the army and the police forces. These were still bound tightly to Russian controls.

The total number of men in the satellite armies available for service with the Soviet army has been estimated at a million and one-half. Since they are not only trained under Soviet commanders, but operate under the Soviet military code, it is possible to state that the Sovietization of the satellite armies has been completed. Together with the armies, the satellite police form the backbone of the Soviet instruments of coercion. Estimated at a total of 700,000 men, police units organized in military formations range in function from the well-known secret police to People's Militia, Frontier Guards, and Railway Guards. Like the satellite armies, the satellite police are governed by Soviet regulations. Together they enforce a system of order which has been designed to conform with the Soviet model.

In common with Yugoslavia, certain states in the orbit are strengthening the weakest sector of the economy: agriculture. It is not certain that the Yugoslav experience compelled the

9: Pool E1 Europe E1

701, 648

[For military organization in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania and for the Russian domination of the military in these satellite countries see category 116, pp. 1-117, 147-154]